

Document Use and the Political Structure in the Siamese Government during the Reigns of King Rama III and Rama IV¹

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to consider the processes involved in dealing with and issuing official documents in the Siamese central government during the early Rattankosin period (1782-1868), especially during the reigns of King Rama III (r. 1824-51) and King Rama IV (Mongkut) (r. 1851-68). Through this analysis, I wish to examine the political structure of those periods.

The day-to-day workings of the central government in the early Rattanakosin period are still debated. While Vella stated that the king stayed well informed about government business and in a position of command on important matters, Wyatt said that he was essentially isolated from the day-to-day workings of the government². These two scholars used the same western sources; however, to clarify the government's daily operations, we should consider using the official documents of the government rather than the accounts of western observers.

Additionally, the administrative system before Rama V's reforms has been considered inefficient and corrupt³. However, this is the view of the modern state. Rather, we should explain the governmental system from a contemporary view.

Moreover, re-evaluating the early modern states of mainland Southeast Asia, Lieberman states that from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century Burma and Siam constructed a more elaborate central administration by using more written documents⁴. Therefore, we need to re-examine the workings of the central government during the early Rattanakosin period.

The sources used in this paper are the official documents kept in the National Library of Thailand. Most of them are documents from the *Krom Mahatthai*, the Ministry of Civil Affairs, which administrated north, northeastern, and eastern Thailand and western Cambodia. Thus,

¹ This paper is a revision of my articles in Japanese [Kawaguchi 2006; 2010].

² Vella 1957: 8. Wyatt 1968: 222.

³ Weles 1934.

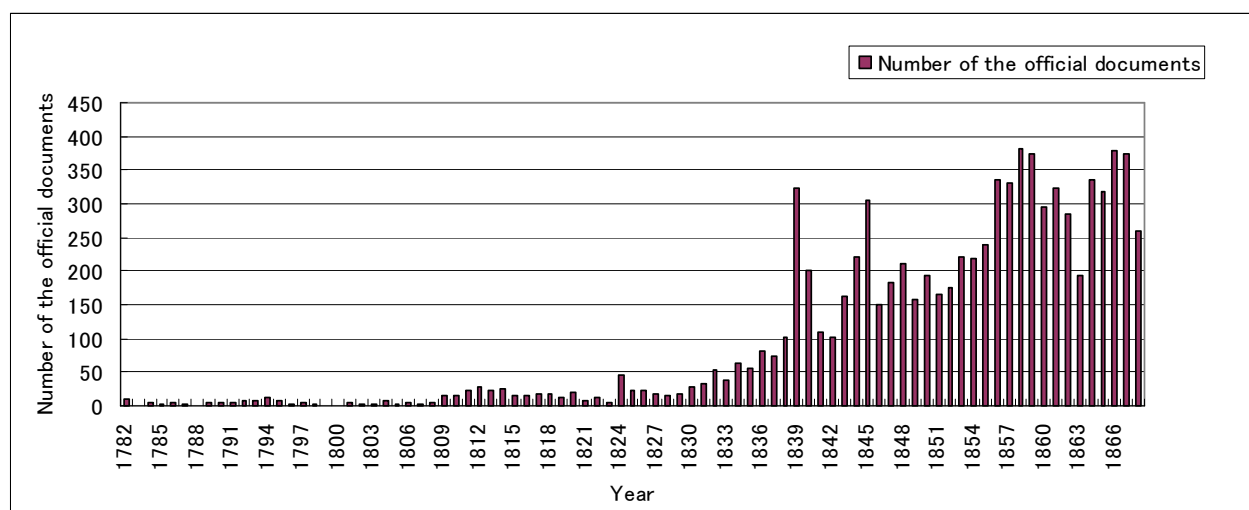
⁴ Lieberman 2003.

I wish to consider using these documents since, although the documents in the *Krom Mahatthai* have been widely used for studying history, attention has not been paid to an analysis of the documents themselves, namely their materials, formats, functions, process of usage, and preservation.

1. Processes of issuing and dealing with documents during the reign of Rama III

After the Siamese government suppressed the “rebellion” of Anuwong, the king of Vientiane, in 1829, its control spread over northeast Thailand, and it increasingly imposed tax in kind and military service on the local people in association with the Siamese-Vietnamese war (1833-47). In western Cambodia and central Thailand, the government also strengthened control. Since the jurisdiction of the *Krom Mahatthai* expanded, and the *Mahatthai* reinforced the provincial administration, the number of official documents that were exchanged between the *Mahatthai* and provinces grew starting in the 1830s. In fact, the number of official documents kept in the National Library in Thailand also increased from that point (figure 1). As the documents increased, it became more important for the government to deal with them. It is not until the reign of Rama III that we can confirm the systematic workings of the government. Here, I will argue how the officials in the *Mahatthai* dealt with reports from local offices and issued ordering documents. As part of this argument, I will consider the political structure of the third reign.

Figure 1. The number of official documents from the early Rattanakosin dynasty kept in the National Library in Thailand.



Source: Catalogues of the National Library of Thailand.

1.1. The process of dealing with reports from local officials

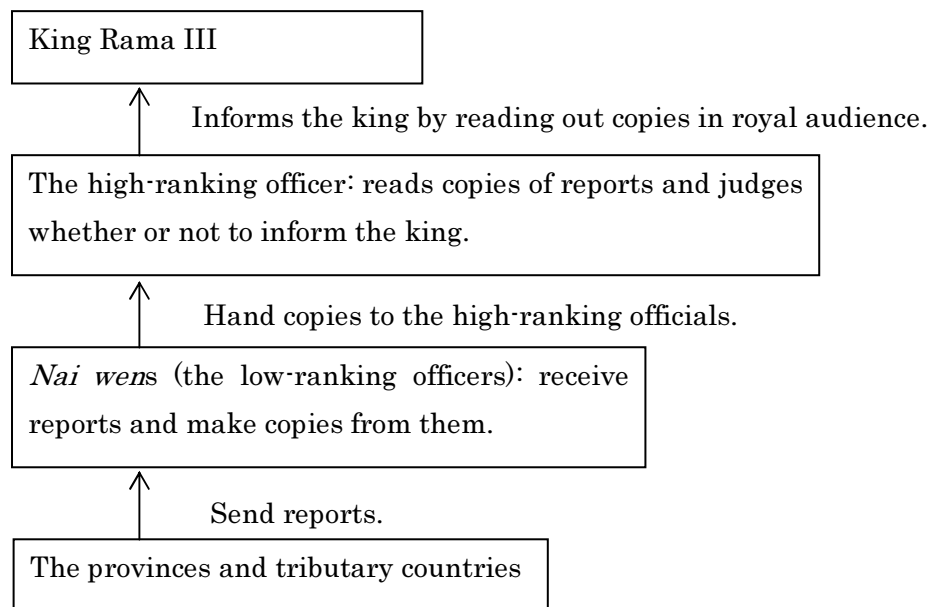
From Prince Damrong's explanation⁵ and existing documents, we can describe the process of dealing with reports sent from local officials in the *Mahatthai* during the third reign as follows.

First, it can be assumed that *nai wens*, lower-ranking officials in the *Mahatthai*, received the reports sent from local officials because most of the addresses written in reports were for *nai wens*⁶. Next, we can confirm that officials in the *Mahatthai* made copies of the reports⁷, as Damrong explains. These were handed to the high-ranking officials in the *Mahatthai*, and used in the administrative process instead of the original documents. Thereafter, they informed the king about the contents of the reports by reading them during an audience, although I cannot find evidence of this in the reports themselves, considering the process of issuing documents that I will now argue.

It was likely that the high-ranking officials decided which reports they should inform the king about. For example, in 1840, Phraya Maha-ammatt did not inform Rama III of the contents of a report in which the governor of Pethchabun asked approval for the appointment of a barrier keeper because he considered the report unimportant⁸.

We can describe this process of dealing with reports in the *Mahatthai* as shown in figure 2. It should be noted that the written reports were not submitted to Rama III directly, but were first considered by the officials and then communicated to the king.

Figure 2. The process of dealing with the reports from the provinces in the *Krom Mahatthai*.



⁵ Damrong 2002: 39-42.

⁶ For example, NL. CMH. R.III. C.S. 1207, no. 10; C.S. 1208, no. 23; C.S. 1212, no. 4, 64, and so on.

⁷ For example, NL. CMH. R.III. C.S. 1200, no. 94; C.S. 1207, no. 81, C.S. 1209, no. 22.

⁸ NL. CMH. R.III. C.S. 1202, no. 148.

1.2. The process of issuing order documents

I will now turn to the process of issuing documents in the government during the reign of King Rama III. In the early Rattanakosin period, ordering documents that the central government sent to provincial officials were written in the form for the *Samuhanayok*, or the minister of the *Mahatthai*, to notify local officials of royal orders. Before the reign of Rama IV, the king never sent documents to local officials directly.

We know more about the process of issuing documents in the government than that of dealing with reports. This is because the process of issuing documents was written in the end of their drafts. For example, the end of a draft written in 1838 says:

This draft was written by *Caokhun fai nua*⁹, and he sent it to *Plai chuak*¹⁰. [*Plai chuak*] modified it.

In the morning of the fifth day of the waning moon, second month, *Samuhanayok* worked on official duties in [his] residence. *Samian tra*¹¹ offered this draft [to *Samuhanayok*] and made Mun Caron read all [its] contents. [*Samuhanayok*] ordered issuing [it] according to that draft. When [he] ordered, *Nai wen* sit with [him].

ร่างตรานี้ เจ้าคุณฝายเหนือทำ ได้อะไปกราบเรียนท่านปลายเชือก ดูกถวาทรงกวางแล้ว
ครั้นวัน ๕ ค่ำเพลาเช้า ๕ พลณสมุหนายกว่าราชการอยู่ณจวน ท่านเสมียนตราได้อะร่าง
๕
ตรานี้กราบเรียนให้หมื่นจรรณอ่านจนสิ้นข้อความแล้วสั่งว่าให้มีไปตามร่างนี้เถิด เมื่อสั่งนาย
เวรนั่งอยู่ด้วย¹²

From this passage, we can understand the process of issuing that document. Namely, Phraya Maha-ammatt (*Caokhun fai nua*) drafted the document, and then, the contents of the draft were read out to the *Samuhanayok* (Caophraya Bodindecha) in his residence. Finally, he approved its issuing.

It is unknown what such a passage was called. Here, I call it a “colophon.” From these colophons in drafts of ordering documents¹³, we can explain the process of issuing documents during the third reign as follows.

⁹ Phraya Maha-ammatt, the head of the *Krom Mahatthai Fai Nua*, Department of the *Mahatthai*.

¹⁰ Phra Sisathap, the *palat banchi* (one of the two subordinate officers) of the *Krom Mahatthai*.

¹¹ Secretary of the *Mahatthai*, perhaps Luang Akkhasunthon.

¹² NL. CMH. R.III, C.S. 1200, no. 16.

¹³ A part of the documents with colophon is NL. CMHR3, C.S. 1196, no. 98; C.S. 1198, no. 17; C.S.1200, no. 16, 80, 81; C.S.1202, no. 148, 174; C.S.1203, no. 3, 40; C.S.1204, no. 6, 82; C.S.1205, no. 11, 53, 152; C.S.1206, no. 54, 197; C.S.1208, no. 30; C.S.1209, no. 25, 116; C.S.1212, no. 162.

First, Phra Sisahathep (the *palat banchi* in the *Mahatthai*), Phra Ratchasena (the *palat thun chalong* in *Krom Mahatthi Fai Nua*, a department of the *Mahatthai*), Phra Sisena (the *plat banchi* in the same department) and sometimes Phraya Maha-ammatt (chief of *Krom Mahatthi Fai Nua*) drafted written documents. Drafts, sometimes passed to other officials, were sent to Caophraya Bodindecha (*Samuhanayok*, minister of the *Mahatthai*) to gain his approval. In the 1830s and 40s, however, Caophraya Bodindecha went to Cambodia for a long time to command the war with Vietnam. In the meantime, it was the acting ministers, Phraya Maha-ammatt and Phraya Ratchasupawadi¹⁴ (chief of the *Krom Satsadi*, the Department of Registration) that approved issuing documents instead of the *Samuhanayok*.

When King Rama III approved issuing documents, the colophon was written as follows.

This draft of *suppha-akson*¹⁵ was written by *Plai chuak* (Phra Sisahathep). Then [it] was submitted to *Caokhun* Phraya Ratchasuphawadi and *Caokhun fai nua* (Phraya Maha-ammatt).

In the evening of the tenth day of the waning moon, seventh month, [King Rama III] came the Amarinwinitchai Palace. *Caokhun* Ammat (Phraya Maha-ammatt) and *Caokhun* Si (Phra Sisahathep) reported and made Phra Ratchasena read the draft out [for the king]. [Rama III] gave the royal order to issue [it] according to that draft.

ร่างศกอักษรนี้ ทานปลายเชือกทำแล้วได้กราบเรียนเจ้าคุณพระยาราชสุภาวดี

ฝ่ายเหนือ

ครั้นวัน ๙ ค่ำเพลาค่ำเสด็จออกณพระที่นั่งอมรินทรวินิจฉัย เจ้าคุณอำมาต ทูลเบิกให้

๑๐

ศรี

พระราชเสนาอ่านกราบทูลพระกรุณาแล้ว ทรงรับสั่งว่าให้มีไปตามร่างนี้เถิด¹⁶

When King Rama III approved the issuing documents, via Chaopraya Bodindecha (*Samuhanayok*) or the acting minister (Phraya Maha-ammatt and Phraya Ratchasupawadi), Phra sisena (*palat banchi* in the *Krom Mahatthi Fai Nua*) read the drafts during an audience, and then the king approved them.

After the king or the high-ranking officials approved, the officials made a fair copy from the draft and put *Samuhanayok*'s seal on the documents. We can assume that it was *nai wens* that put the seal on the documents based on the daily journal in which they recorded uses of the seal¹⁷. Figure 3 describes the processes of issuing documents¹⁸.

¹⁴ He was To Kanlayanamit, later *Samuhanayok* (1849-64).

¹⁵ The *suppha-akson* were the documents exchanged between the ministers and the king of the tributary countries.

¹⁶ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. C.S. 1202, no. 48

¹⁷ *Cotmai het ratchakan thi 3*, vol. 5: 39-45.

¹⁸ There is a full discussion in my article [Kawaguchi 2006].

Figure 3. The processes of issuing the documents that the *Mahatthai* sent to the provinces

Figure 3.1. The case of the minister and the acting minister issuing documents

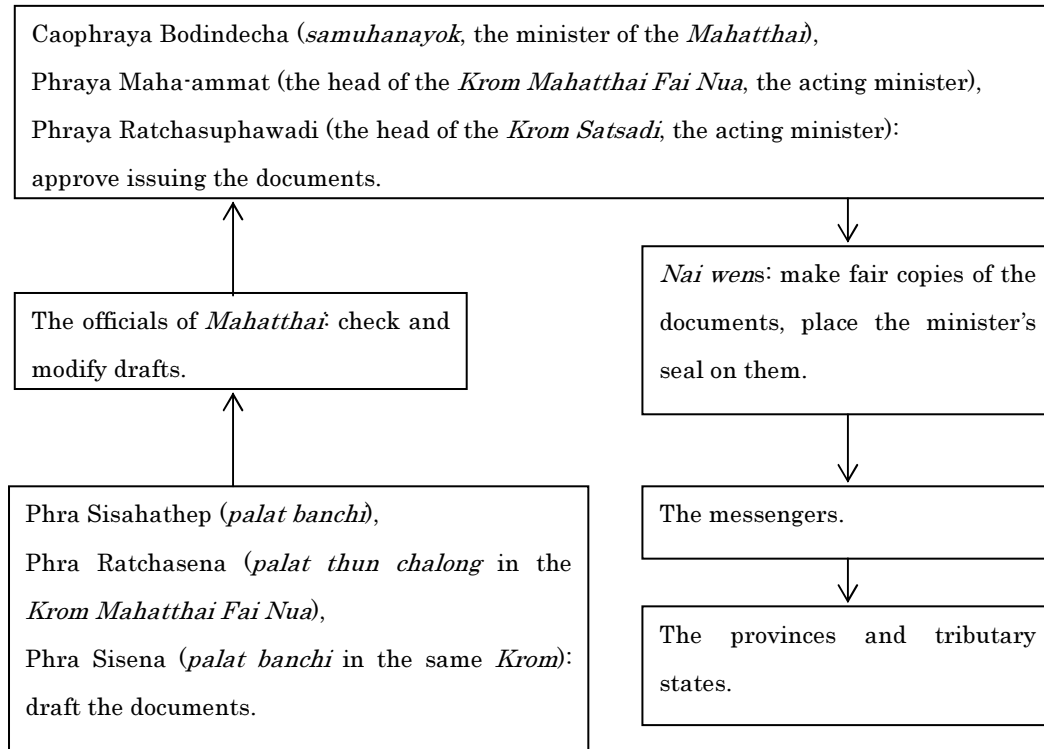
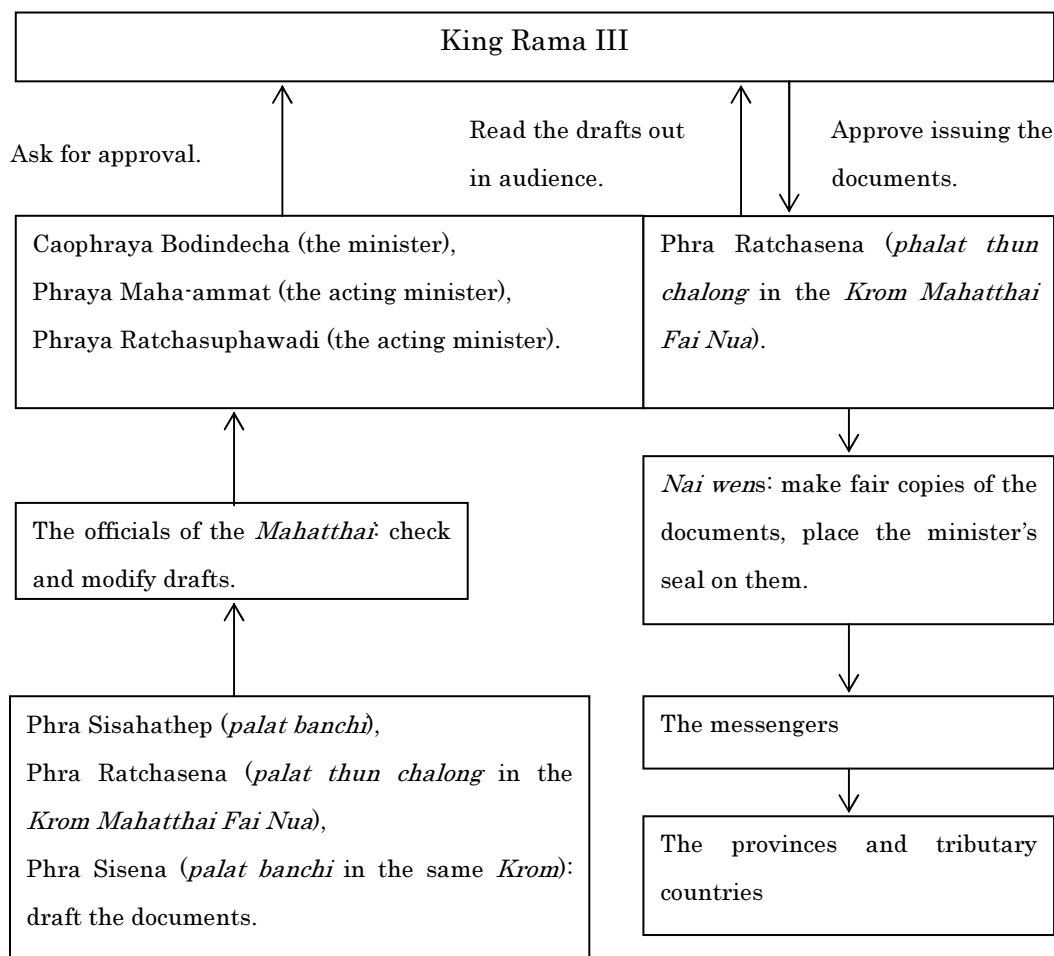


Figure 3.2. The case of King Rama III issuing documents



When considering the political structure of the government, it is important to look at who approved issuing official documents. We should notice that King Rama III did not approve issuing all documents. In particular, most of the documents about collecting tax in kind, which had increased sharply since the 1830s, were approved by Caophraya Bodindecha (*Samuhanayok*), or Phraya Ratchasuphawadi or Phraya Maha-ammatt (acting Ministers)¹⁹. Meanwhile, only some of the documents were approved by Rama III himself. He approved the more politically important documents, such as those concerning the war with Vietnam and the relation with Burma²⁰.

By noticing that the minister or acting ministers approved issuing a large number of documents, we can say that the monarchy was essentially isolated from the day-to-day

¹⁹ For example, NL. CMH. R.III. 1198, no. 17; C.S. 1200, no. 16, 80, 81; C.S. 1202, no. 148, 174; C.S. 1203, no. 3; C.S. 1204, no. 6, 82; C.S. 1205, no. 53; C.S. 1206, no. 188, 197, etc.

²⁰ For example, NL. CMH. R.III. C.S. 1209, no. 19, 25; Khanakammakan chamra prawatisat thai samnak nayokratthamontri (ed.). 1999: 33-38, 42-43, 55-59, 99-104, 111-116, 180-186, 189-201, 201-206.

workings of the government, as Wyatt pointed out²¹. On the other hand, taking into account that Rama III approved more politically significant documents, one may say that he kept himself well informed on government business and in a position of command on important matters, as Vella said²². However, we should not overlook the fact that Rama III only approved issuing documents that had been checked by the minister or acting ministers. With these factors, the minister or acting minister approved most of the written documents as royal orders, or after checking, informed Rama III about some of them to get his royal approval. Moreover, as noted previously, almost all of the official documents that the government issued to provincial officials were written as royal orders. In spite of the royal orders, Rama III did not necessarily approve issuing them. From this, we can state that the minister and acting ministers had an important role in the process of issuing official documents in the government.

1.3. The political structure from the view of the documentary system

In short, during the third reign documents were not directly exchanged between the king and provincial officials, but were always mediated by the central officials. From the processes of dealing with and issuing documents in *Krom Mahatthai*, we can conclude that while the high-ranking officials, especially the minister and the acting ministers played an important role in the daily working of the government, Rama III was not involved in all administrative affairs, especially the less important cases. It can be said that the officials in the *Mahatthai* adequately supported the increasing administrative work associated with the expanding kingdom²³.

However, considering that the king could not always participate in the day-to-day

²¹ Wyatt 1968: 222.

²² Vella 1957: 8.

²³ It is understood that the *Mahatthai* officials who dealt with documents became more important because, since the reign of Rama III, more of them had become ministers than officials in the other ministries. The ministers who had experience in positions in the *Mahatthai* from the third reign were Caophraya Yommarat (Phun), Caophraya Nikonbodin (To Kanlayanamit), Phraya Sisahathep (Phen, the acting minister of the Ministry of Land), Caophraya Suthammamontri (Bunsi Bunnasiri), Caophraya Yommarat (Khrut), Caophraya Thammathikon (Mang Sonthirat), and Caophraya Rattanabodin (Bunrot Kanlayanamit) [Sommot and Damrong 1999]. They were not the Bunnag family. On the other hand, not as many officials of the *Krom Kalahom* (the Ministry of Military, administering the south Thailand) and the *Krom Phrakhrang* (the Ministry of Finance, administering the maritime area and foreign affairs), in which the powerful Bunnag family exclusively became ministers, became ministers from the third reign as the those from the *Mahatthai*. The ministers installed from the *Kalahom* were Caophraya Phanuwong and Caophraya Rattanathibet (Phum) [Sommot and Damrong 1999]. Those with experience in the positions in Phrakhrang were Caophraya Suthammamontri (Chim), Caophraya Thipakorawong (Kham Bunnag), and Caophraya Suthammamontri (Bunsi Bunnasiri) [Sommot and Damrong 1999], with the exception of the ministers before 1822 when the Bunnag family excluded the ministers of *Phrakhrang*. These facts question Wyatt's analysis that the Bunnag family had had political power since the reign of Rama II by holding the minister positions [Wyatt 1968].

workings of the government, why were the processes for dealing with and issuing documents as mentioned above sustained? Why did Rama III not regard those processes as a problem? We can assume that the custom that documents could not be directly exchanged between the king and non-king explained the documentary processes. Vajirañāṇabikkhu, later King Mongkut, said the following in a Pali letter addressed to the monkhood in Sri Lanka in the 1840s.

In Siamese custom, this is a regulation. Only an anointed king deserves to send a royal letter to [another] king. The others [or non-kings] do not [deserve to send a letter to the king]²⁴.

Since officials could not directly submit written reports to the king, it was necessary for the officials in the central government to receive them and then inform the king of their contents. Furthermore, because the king could not directly send written orders to the local officials, inescapably the high-ranking officials had to write documents as a royal order instead of the king. It can be said that the documentary system in the third reign was rational in terms of the contemporary documentary custom (*Thai* thammaniam or prapheni).

2. Changes in the processes of dealing with documents during the reign of King Mongkut

The next king, Mongkut or Rama IV (r. 1851-68), considered the existing documentary system, which was mentioned above, as a problem because communication between the king and officials in the government and provinces was not convenient. In this section, I will look at the changes in the documentary system during the reign of King Mongkut.

2.1. Mongkut and reports from local officials

As I have shown, reports from local officials, via central officials, were read, if necessary, by officials during an audience with the king. In other words, the king did not read the reports himself. When high-ranking officials wanted the king's approval for issuing written orders, they read them out to the king in the same way. The king did not read drafts of written orders; instead, he modified and approved them orally. However, King Mongkut believed this process caused problems because he thought that the oral communication between the officials and the king in dealing with the documents was very uncertain²⁵. Thus, unlike the previous kings, he read documents by himself, modified drafts of documents with his hands, and approved issuing them with his signature to stay well informed on government business and embody

²⁴ Mongkut 1962: 586.

²⁵ NL. CMH. R.IV. Phraratchaniphon R.IV, no. 42.

his opinion in politics.

We can understand that King Mongkut actually read reports from local officials, from the copy of a report sent from Caophraya Mukkhamontri in 1861²⁶. He reported to the central officials that he sent a Cambodian prince and his retainers from Mongkhoborei to Bangkok. In the copy of his report, we can see the royal order followed by the text of his report, which made the offices provide money and rice for Cambodians. From the handwriting, it is clear that King Monkut wrote this ordering passage. Moreover, Mongkut's signature, SPPM Mongkut, is on the document followed by the order. It can be said that after King Mongkut actually read this report and wrote the order, he signed it.

2.2. Mongkut and drafts of the written orders to local officials

As an example of drafts of written orders which King Mongkut read and approved by himself, we can look at one that the minister addressed to Ang Duon, king of Cambodia, in 1857²⁷. As a result of Mongkut's own modifications, the text of this document increased to three times the length of the original that the officials drafted. Moreover, following the text of drafts, he signed in English as below.

Approved & revised & added by
SPPM Mongkut
RS==Reigning 2282 days

Similar to this one, we can find drafts with Mongkut's signature for approval in the documents of his reign²⁸.

As we have seen, Mongkut read reports and approved issuing documents by himself. By dealing with document directly, Mongkut tried to control political processes, which had been led by officials during the reign of Rama III. However, we should notice that not all drafts were handed to the king. It was only a small portion of the drafts that Monkut approved²⁹. In fact, he also stated this in his letter to a local official as follows.

In the governmental business, the officials consult among themselves and send [documents] to order. I cannot know [those documents]. Even the matters of tax depend on the ministers in the same way. Because [the documents] have the Lion-seal³⁰ and are

²⁶ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S.1223, no. 79.

²⁷ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1219, no. 195.

²⁸ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1216, no. 54, 61; C.S. 1217, no. 26/k, 105/k, 161; C.S. 1221, no. 9/k; C.S. 1222, no. 1; C.S. 1224, no. 141; C.S. 1226, no. 307.

²⁹ For example, in all existing documents in *Culasakkarat* 1215 (1853/4), there were only three documents which Mongkut approved [NL. CMHR4. C.S.1215, no. 33, 34, 52].

³⁰ *Tra phraratchasi*, the seal of the *Samuhanayok*, the minister of the *Mahatthai*.

called royal orders, the provinces assume that I, or the king, give an order³¹.

Due to the nature of the existing documentary system, it was necessary for Mongkut to make an intention to exchange documents directly with the officials in order to be more involved in political affairs than the previous kings. In the next section, I will consider the royal letter (*phraratchahatthalekha*) of Mongkut and the memorial submitted to him (*nangsu krapbangkhomthun*).

2.3. Mongkut's letters in the political structure

Unlike the previous kings, Mongkut sent his royal letters to central and local officials and the kings of the tributary countries to communicate with them directly. While the minister issued the written orders, the king also sent letters alongside. In this case, were Mongkut's royal letters given priority over the written order that the minister issued as royal edicts?

There exist many of Mongkut's letters on Cambodian affairs. From the 1850s to the 1860s, especially after Ang Duong, king of Cambodia, died, the state was in anarchy. Additionally, France became involved in Cambodia, making it a protectorate. To maintain Cambodia as a tributary state, Siam tried to calm the situation by dispatching central officials to Cambodia. At that time, documents were not only sent from the *Samuhanayok*, the minister of the *Mahatthai* that dealt with Cambodia affairs, but also from King Mongkut to the officials dispatched there and to Cambodian princes. What was the relation between the royal letters and the documents issued by the minister? In his letter addressed to Caophraya Mukkhamontri, who was dispatched to Battambang in 1862, King Mongkut said:

This letter is written by me with my heart. If [it] displeases you, I will apologize. If the text [of this letter] varies the *santra* (the written order addressed by the minister), don't believe and obey [my letter]. You should follow the *santra*³².

That is, it was not the royal letters but the document issued by the minister that affected politics and administration. At least, Mongkut thought in that way. Therefore, Mongkut's letters were private rather than official.

2.4. Memorials submitted to Mongkut

I will now consider the memorials submitted to Mongkut. Although the central and local officials had not sent documents to the king in the third reign, Mongkut instructed them to submit memorials to him to report on administrative affairs. From the royal edicts of Mongkut, the purpose of using memorials was to prevent the high-ranking officials from

³¹ Mongkut 1963: 49-52.

³² NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1223, no. 102. Mongkut gave a similar instruction in NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S.1224, no. 94, 118, 119, phraratchaniphon R.IV, no. 42.

blocking reports from local officials to the king and to accelerate reports from the local officials to the king³³.

In addition to the royal letters, by using the memorials, Mongkut intended to get involved in the daily governmental work more directly. Did his purpose succeed? As mentioned above, from the 1850s to the 1860s, Mongkut frequently sent royal letters to central officials who were dispatched to Cambodia to observe both the Cambodian royal family and the French. In his royal letters, he wrote that the officials should send memorials to him to inform him about the political situation³⁴. Interestingly, however, we cannot confirm that the dispatched officials sent memorials to the king. They sent reports to the central officials, who then submitted them to Mongkut, as previously explained.

Why did the officials not send letters to the king directly despite the king's order? It was probably because the officials could not send letters directly to the king in the contemporary documentary custom, as I have mentioned.

Who then sent memorials to Mongkut? It was Caopraya Sisuriyawong, the minister of the *Krom Kalahom* (the Ministry of Military, governing south Thailand) that submitted memorials to the king to inform him about the political situation in Cambodia. Although he was not an official in the *Mahatthai*, with the officials in the *Mahatthai*, he received reports sent from the dispatched officials and the Cambodian princes and officials, and then made digests from them with his opinion as memorials, submitting them to Mongkut³⁵. Additionally, when Mongkut consulted Caophraya Sisuriyawong about Cambodia affairs, he reported to the king in the form of memorials³⁶. Although in his memorials he had even objected Mongkut's opinion, we can confirm that Mongkut accepted his reply³⁷.

While Mongkut ordered the local officials to submit memorials to him directly, they could not do so because of the contemporary documentary custom. By meditating between both sides, Caopraya Sisuriyawong had an important position in the governmental workings during the 1860s when the political temperature centered on the opposition in Cambodia between Siam and France. Additionally, after Caophraya Nikonbodin, the minister of the *Mahatthai*, died in 1864, it was chiefly Caopraya Sisuriyawong, along with the high-ranking officials in the *Mahatthai*, that approved issuing the documents addressed to Cambodia under the name of the minister of the *Mahatthai*³⁸. Finally, in 1864, Mongkut gave Caopraya Sisuriyawong an order to make him check not only the minister's written orders but also the royal letters concerning Cambodia³⁹.

³³ Charnvit (ed.) 2004: 83-84, 144-145.

³⁴ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1224, no. 119; C.S. 1226, no. 636; non dated, no.322, phraratchaniphon R. IV, no. 42.

³⁵ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1223, no. 73, 84, 97; undated, no. 165.

³⁶ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1223, no. 55, 70; C.S. 1226, no. 52; C.S. 1228, no. 102.

³⁷ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1223, no. 70.

³⁸ For example, NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1225, no. 44; C.S. 1226, no. 164; C.S. No. 39.

³⁹ NL. CMH. R.IV. C.S. 1226, no. 68.

Conclusion

The political structure during the reigns of Rama III and Rama IV from the point of view of the processes involved in dealing with documents can be concluded as follows. During the third reign, the officials, rather than the king, chiefly dealt with the documents. This documentary system was rational when viewed from the contemporary documentary custom. The officials of the *Mahatthai* adequately supported the increased workings of the government. However, Mongkut wanted to change the existing processes of dealing with the documents because they prevented him from participation in daily administration. To control political processes, he read reports and drafts of ordering documents on his own, as well as tried to communicate with officials using royal letters and memorials. However, his purpose did not succeed satisfactorily because of the documentary custom at that time. Instead, as a result of the king's purpose, Caophraya Sisuriyawong gained a more important role in the government by acting as an intermediary for communication between the local officials and the king.

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C.S.: Culasakkarat ("Lesser Era." C.S. +638/9 = A.D.)

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